

## **The War Paper for Women**

# **VOTES FOR WOMEN**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 888.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1915.

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## **A VOTE!—FOR THE CHILD'S SAKE**



**BRITANNIA:** "What's the use of telling me that I rule the waves when they won't give me a vote to help to save my babies?"

Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky, in a letter to the "Times," says: "In Greater London for the three months ending March, 1915, the infantile mortality is given as 50 per cent. higher than last year."

Dr. A. G. Anderson, medical officer of health, states that the infantile mortality in Rochdale for 1914 was at the rate of 130 per 1,000 births, as against 106 in 1913.







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## DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

## THE OUTLOOK

Next Sunday, August 15, a compulsory register is to be taken of all women between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five. We deal with this subject in our leading article, and wish here merely to draw attention to the joint demonstration of Suffrage Societies and Labour organisations, under the auspices of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, which will take place on the same day, and will consist of processions from the East and South-East of London, ending in a mass meeting at the Queen's Hall at 6 p.m. United Suffragists are taking part in this demonstration, and our readers are asked to join their procession and help them to voice the demand of working men and women for equal political and industrial rights for men and women. The keynote of the demonstration will be—"If a woman does a man's job, she must be paid a man's wage." The speakers will include prominent Trade Unionists and Suffragists. For full particulars see pp. 374, 379, and 380.

## Why Women Demand Safeguards

There are many indications of the pressing need of safeguards for women's labour, now that the war is widening their sphere of employment. In No. 1 Munitions Area, for instance (which includes Manchester), employers are refusing to acknowledge that the same piece rates shall be paid to women as to men—in spite of the Government's assurance to more than one deputation of women that this should be so; yet how can the employers be blamed for thinking that a Government pledge need not be kept where women are concerned? They have the whole history of the Suffrage movement to support their own cynical view. Again, the increased employment of women in the distributing trades has produced a letter from the Early Closing Association to the Home Office, which seems to us one of those many attempts, already familiar to us, to restrict the employment of women under the guise of "protective" legislation. In it the Association begs that in the interest of the national health steps should be taken to curtail the hours of employment of women shop assistants.

## "A Shop Girl's" View

This may be—we hope it is—inspired by a genuine concern for the women's health. But we cannot help inclining to the view taken by "A Shop Girl," who writes to us protesting against the action of the Early Closing Association, which she says is controlled by men only. She goes on to point out that the arbitrary curtailment of the women's hours only would work out disastrously for the women and hinder their being employed, and she adds:

I wonder if this move of the Early Closing Association is an insidious attempt to put obstacles in the way of their employment in shops?

We should not wonder; and in any case, we entirely agree with "A Shop Girl" that the

hours of men and women in the same trade should, as far as possible, be the same.

## Women and the Civil Service

The European War has created a shortage of men qualified to fill the higher and better paid posts in the Civil Service, a shortage which would not have been felt at this crisis if our late Anti-Suffrage Government had not failed to act upon the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Civil Service, "to institute an enquiry into the situations in each department which might with advantage to the public service be filled by qualified women." The N.U.W.S.S. has just presented a memorial, which has been widely signed by well known men and women, to the Prime Minister, asking that this recommendation shall be adopted now, and suggesting that a committee of five, three of whom should be women, shall be appointed to meet two of the staff of each department in order to confer as to the most practical steps to be taken in the matter. War or no war, this is a reform that brooks no delay, for, apart from the injustice to women, involved in their exclusion, it will never be possible to attain the highest efficiency in these public services until they are thrown open unreservedly to men and women alike.

## Massacre of the Innocents

Terrible as our losses are in the field, they are still less in number than our losses in the cradle at home. Infant mortality, always in peace time the greatest scandal of our civilisation, has gone up to an alarming extent since war broke out a year ago. Not many weeks ago we commented on the awful rise in the death-rate of infants, as shown in London for the first three months of 1915. Now comes the annual report of Dr. A. G. Anderson, the Medical Officer of Health for Rochdale, who tells us that the infantile mortality in that district was at the rate of 130 per 1,000 births in 1914, as against 106 in 1913. His report should be read by all Suffragists. We have space for only one extract here. While, he says, it is patriotic to die for one's country—

there is no less patriotism in endeavouring to maintain the integrity of the race both as regards numbers and fitness. . . . If then, in addition to our high infantile mortality—which ought to be reduced by one-half, but with the continuation of which the public conscience tends to become blunted through familiarity—we are losing in the prime of manhood great numbers of the stock which the nation can ill afford to lose, surely all questions bearing on the preservation of infant life at once become of greater and urgent importance.

We entirely agree, with the corollary that since these are essentially women's questions, they cannot be tackled successfully until women have political power.

## Woman Suffrage in Germany

The *Daily Telegraph* (July 27) quotes an extremely interesting article written by a woman Socialist, which appeared recently in the German paper *Vorwärts*. In it she discusses the view "said to be held by many of her sex in Germany," says the *Telegraph*, "that the war will bring women appreciably nearer the goal of political equality"; and she writes:—

The war has perhaps brought us nearer to enfranchisement in that the opponents of female suffrage have been deprived of many of their most serviceable arguments, and, above all, because even the least interested woman must clearly see how urgently women citizens need political influence, which they can exercise only through the vote. The bare fact that a war of such tremendous effect, such widespread dimensions, and such painful losses in every belligerent country could have come to pass, must create in women—who are the most deeply affected—a resolve to co-operate in the prevention of future wars.

The general trend of her argument is unfavourable to the idea that German women will necessarily get the vote when, after the war, the struggle recommences "to bring about a readjustment of political power"; but she refers to

another Socialist woman (Luise Zietz) who emphasises the necessity of "allowing no pause in political activity during the war," and it is particularly interesting to United Suffragists to read that the war is not considered by women, even in Germany, as sufficient reason for dropping suffrage propaganda.

## Release of Mrs. Jessie Klose

We congratulate Sir John Simon on exercising the prerogative of the Home Office and obtaining the release of Mrs. Jessie Klose after she had served fourteen of the twenty-one days' sentence inflicted upon her by Mr. Denman. Her offence was window-breaking in order to call attention to the injustice of her case, she being an Englishwoman and a dressmaker who could get no work because, as the wife of a German who deserted her ten years ago, she was obliged to register as an alien. Perhaps if Sir John Simon, who is a Suffragist, had been at the Home Office in the place of his predecessor, Mr. McKenna, the position of women would not have been so shamefully defined in the Aliens Act of a year ago. His wise action leads us also to wonder whether he would not have taken a more statesmanlike view of the early window-breaking protests of the militant Suffragists, and urged redress of their grievance rather than the stupid coercion which became a blot upon the late administration.

## Items of Interest

All United Suffragists will want to send their sympathy to Mr. P. E. Hobhouse (Second Lieut. 6th Somerset L.I.), who has been recently wounded in France, and to express their warm hopes for his speedy recovery. Mr. Hobhouse was to have been Hon. Secretary of the Oxford University U.S., which, but for the outbreak of war, would have been inaugurated in the autumn of 1914.

In Petrograd one hospital is given up to wounded women, who came under the enemy's fire when engaged in the transport and commissariat services of the Russian army.

The French Government has given a military status to the Australian Hospital at Auteuil, which is staffed entirely by women. Dr. Helen Sexton has been awarded the rank of Médecin-Major.

In the East Coast Zeppelin raid on Monday night nine women and four children were killed, and seven women and two children were wounded. One man was killed, and five were wounded. Modern warfare almost invariably takes heavier toll of voteless women civilians than of the men civilians who have a voice in the settlement of war and peace.

We have received some interesting literature giving an account of the Nevada Women's Civic League, formed last February "to meet a general demand of newly enfranchised women for information about the wise use of the ballot." It is particularly good to note that the women of Nevada are taking advantage of this organisation "regardless of their previous attitude towards Woman Suffrage."

## THE COST OF LIVING

## In a Herefordshire Village

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I have compiled statistics from the price lists of local tradesmen for June, 1914, and June, 1915, the results of which may be of interest to your readers. The figures apply to the ordinary necessities of life, such as bread, groceries, meat, and coal, and show that in the parish of Much Marcle the rise in the cost of living works out at 37 per cent., or 7s. 4½d. in the £. Excluding the item of meat, the figures are lowered to 34 per cent. and 6s. 9d. in the £. These statistics probably apply with but slight variations to all the surrounding country districts.

I may mention that the rise in the family budget of a working man's wife is sometimes higher than the highest percentage given above, owing to socio-economic conditions over which she has no control.—Yours, &c., C. C. COOKE.

Much Marcle, Herefordshire.

[Perhaps some of our readers can send us similar figures showing the rise in the cost of living in other parts of the country.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]



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FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1915.

## HOW SUFFRAGISTS SHOULD REGISTER ON AUGUST 15

We find it difficult to understand the Government's passion for taking registers of women. Already, as Miss Llewelyn Davies and others have pointed out, there is a register of some 43,000 unemployed women at the Labour Exchanges, and another of 85,000 or so for voluntary war service, which, to say the very least, have not been "rushed" by the Government. The other day, Mr. Lloyd George, following this new precept—"When in doubt, take a register!"—hinted at yet a third register of women skilled in munition work; and now, as we go to press, we are on the eve of a National Register of all women between the ages of 15 and 65. That is the one we intend to discuss here, for, unlike the others, it is compulsory, and a compulsory register being a new danger to the unenfranchised half of the community, we have something to say as to the best way of serving our cause when filling in our registration forms next Sunday.

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on behalf of the Women's War Interests' Committee, Miss Julie Tomlinson says:—

It is imperative that the Government shall set the standard for other employers. In regard to munition work a minimum has been promised—but not fixed—by Mr. Lloyd George for women employed in factories controlled by Government. Thousands of women are already being drafted into munition work at wages varying from 10s. to 15s. a week. Thus the Government undertaking that the services of women would not be utilised merely to get cheap labour is already being defeated.

We ourselves have heard of a firm which recently advertised for women to make fuses, and is paying them only 14s. for a full week's work. This is the kind of exploitation that is bound to follow when labour, unprotected by the vote, is at the disposal of a Government; and a compulsory register will only widen the sphere of exploitation. The fact that the register, when taken, may never be used, does not alter the fact that its bare existence makes the industrial conscription of women a possibility; and sweating is the inevitable handmaid of the industrial conscription of an unenfranchised class.

So much for the danger to women of the register that is to be taken without their consent on August 15. But it is much more than a danger. We regard it, as we regard any other form of "government without consent," as undemocratic and therefore, in this country, unconstitutional. This is so obvious that we feel we must apologise to the readers of **VOTES FOR WOMEN** for stating it in so many words. Yet to the Government it is not obvious, or they would not so blithely have imposed this new form of tyranny upon women. And we

are even told sometimes that women should hail their inclusion in the National Register as a sign that they are at last recognised as a part of the nation, as being on an equality with men.

Well, we do not so hail it. We look upon this view of the matter as the view of the Anti-Suffragist, who has always been ready to acknowledge the equality of women with men in the prison or the lunatic asylum, but never in the polling booth. Anything that dragoons women, that emphasises their position as a slave class in the nation, is always welcomed by the Anti-Suffragist. For ourselves, as long as women are not considered good enough to be registered as citizens, we consider it an insult as well as a danger to force them to register for any other purpose. Nor do we fear the familiar accusation of want of patriotism when we say this. Leaving on one side the easy retort that, if the national crisis demands the help of millions of women, the neglect by the authorities of the thousands already registered becomes an absurdity, we would remind those who question our sense of the urgency of the present situation that compulsion is for slackers, not for Suffragists, who, by the very fact of being Suffragists, have proved for years that they are ready to give their lives for their country, and, since the outbreak of war, have proved this afresh, over and over again. It is not Suffragists who have to be forced into the service of their country by these Pussian methods; and if everybody had been as lavish of personal service during the past year as the Suffragists have been, we do not think there would be any need to-day for a compulsory register, either of men or women.

Let us have done with this high-browed talk about the honour done to women by this National Register! If the Government wishes to recognise women—which it doesn't—let it give them the vote. If it wishes to secure the services of women at this juncture—of which it has given no real evidence—let it offer them a man's wages for doing a man's work. Short of these two proofs of sincerity Suffragists will continue as before to give their whole energies to trying to pull their country out of the tragic muddle in which a male-elected administration has landed it; they will continue to work their hardest to allay the sufferings of wounded men and wounded women, to preserve the homes and the industrial standards of the nation, to guard the lives of children and babies;—and they will continue to press for the political power to enable them to do these things effectually. But they will take the National Register at its true value, and without sentimentality;—and they will use it to send a message to the Government.

Assuming that they have filled in the bare particulars required on their registration forms, we enjoin all Suffragists to add that they have complied so far under protest and because of the peril in which our country now stands, but that they consider a Government has no right to register women for war service when it refuses to register them as citizens, and they therefore call upon it to remove this stigma from the women of the country without delay. If they care to add anything concerning their determination not to do Government work, so long as women have no safeguard against being sweated, they can of course do so.

But let the National Register of August 15, 1915, be at least a national record of women's determination to become citizens.



# WOMEN'S SALARIES\*

I have just been reading with the greatest possible interest a pamphlet on "Sex-Differentiation in Salary," by H. F. Normanton, B.A., published by the National Federation of Women Teachers. I do not know how widely it has been up to the present circulated among suffragists, but I do know that it ought to be very widely circulated indeed. It contains the gist of the matter, both as regards fact and as regards argument, and though its main concern is with salaries and not wages, the salary arguments can be transferred almost bodily to the even more important matter of wages, and, indeed, are so transferred in many places in this pamphlet itself. It is a pre-war pamphlet, clearly, in date of composition (no date of publication is given); but its importance is enormously accentuated by the war. As has more than once been pointed out in the editorial columns of this paper, the question of readjustment of wages as between the sexes after the war will, unless our rulers show themselves capable of grasping the first principles of economics, threaten the nation with complete disaster. This is no exaggeration. Women have replaced men in industry in unprecedented numbers: for the most part they are compulsorily "under-cutting." What is the nation going to do about it? Well, in the first place it should read Miss (or Mr. or Mrs.?) Normanton's pamphlet, and acquire the plain commonsense of the matter. Only—since I have one or two faults to find, I had better get them over—Miss Normanton on her part should, I think, re-issue her pamphlet in a better form. It is perhaps impossible to give over seventy pages, including numerous references, tables, and footnotes, in a satisfactory shape for three-pence. As it is, the misprints are so many, particularly as regards the spacing and placing of quotations and footnotes, as seriously to impair the value of the book as a work of reference. One other grumble: I think the "Special War Notice" affixed to the outside rather tends to darken counsel. It runs thus:—

During and after the war many soldiers' wives and widows become the breadwinners for families. Should they be paid according to their sex or their work?

Now in most cases soldiers' wives and widows will be receiving subsidies from the State. They will be in a special position, and that special position will be used by enemies of "equal pay for equal work" to exploit cheap labour and drag down general wages. One way of combating that evil will be to agitate against these subsidised women being offered low wages, but the difficulty of such an agitation is obvious. The first essential, on any principle whatever, is to recognise that in this particular case it is not a matter of "according to sex or work," but of "according to subsidy or work." Such special cases will fall into line if the general economic adjustment is undertaken broadly and justly; meanwhile, it is a mistake to confuse them with the general case.

## The Two Principles

It is plain that there are two different principles on which it is possible to estimate a claim for remuneration: the need of the worker, and the value of the work. If the former is adopted, it is true we must not object to the father of a family receiving a larger salary

than a single woman for the same work, but equally we must not object to a woman who supports her children or her parents receiving a larger salary than a single man for the same work. If the latter is adopted, then a woman who does the same work with the same skill and for the same hours as a man must receive the same salary. In either case there will be no penalising of women, no sex-differentiation. On what principle, then, can the present sex-differentiation possibly be based? It is based on no principle. Opponents of equality make a shady and shameful appeal to whichever principle at the moment will best suit the injustice they intend in any case to commit. They begin by telling women that women's work is less valuable than men's, and, when that is disproved, they declare that anyway a man has a family to support and a woman hasn't; or they begin by telling women that a man has a family to support and a woman hasn't, and when it is pointed out to them that many women *do* support others and many men support only themselves, these miserable apologists for injustice shift their ground back to the old lie that women do not and cannot ever do the same work with the same efficiency as men. (Incidentally, if this were true, the controversy would never have arisen, for no one has ever asked for women to be paid equal wages *except* where they do equal work.)

## The N.U.T.

Miss Normanton begins by pointing out that the ideal scale of salaries claimed by the National Union of Teachers (in spite of the fact that that body contains a large number of women) differentiates against women to the extent of 19.3 per cent.; the "ideal scale would give a man for a normal life's work in the profession £1,590 more than a woman for the same period"—in the Metropolitan section of the scale, £1,850. (I may add that the N.U.T. demands for a minimum, which Miss Normanton does not mention, but which may be taken as most definitely fixing what is supposed to be the requisite standard of life, are: £90 outside London, £100 inside London, for men—£80 outside London, £90 inside London, for women.) Miss Normanton gives the average salaries actually earned by assistant elementary teachers in 1914 as £128 11s. for men and £93 11s. for women. (But this, though the fact is not mentioned by Miss Normanton, applies only to certificated teachers. The figures for uncertificated teachers are not very much more than half the above—and as for the "supplementaries"! I have no figures for these, since the Board of Education, perhaps through a sense of shame, has taken to omitting them from its annual financial Blue Book; but Miss Normanton gives an instance of a "monitress" earning for many years £10 a year, and being at last raised to £20. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that all such "supplementaries" are women.)

For secondary teachers the 1914 figures are: men's average, £167; women's, £127—as against 1913: men's average, £168; women's, £120.

## The Real Cause

Of such discrepancies one explanation sometimes urged is that women's work has less continuity; and Miss Normanton shows from the statistics of the Teachers' Provident Society that the women do actually suffer from greater amount and longer duration of sickness; but she also shows various special reasons for this, not least of which is the *lower standard of life*. Ought we not, instead of saying that women get lower salaries because they suffer more from illness, to say that they suffer more from illness because they get lower salaries? That this must be so in cases where the salary falls below a decent level is obvious, and in a profession causing such nerve-strain as teaching, rest and re-

creation are essential to health, and the cost of *healthy* living cannot be low.

So again with quality of work:—

"The Civil Service Commission Report has stated in a reservation made by eight of the seventeen Commissioners that they believe 'that efficiency in clerical work, as in other forms of labour, depends in part upon the food, housing, recreation, &c., made possible by the salary paid. For this reason we think that no fair inference can be drawn as to the efficiency of the two sexes, from a comparison between the work of the existing women clerks and that of the male clerks enjoying much larger salaries.'"

I have no space to follow Miss Normanton's demolition of the hoary "pseudo-economic" argument that "the inferiority of women's payment is to be traced to their lower standard of living." A clearer case of the cart before the horse than this argument it would be impossible to conceive. Indeed, all the arguments drawn from those grievous fallacies which used to masquerade as economic laws—e.g., the Wage-Fund Theory and the Law of Supply and Demand—have, as every schoolgirl knows, been heaved overboard by the economists themselves.

## False Contentions

Nor again have I space to refer to the detailed statistical refutation Miss Normanton provides to the contentions (1) Men have dependants and women have not (Miss Normanton quotes the Fabian Women's Group Report, to which attention has previously been called in these columns, and reinforces it with even stronger figures from other authorities); (2) A wife who keeps the home is a "dependant" of her husband, and the man should *therefore* be paid at a higher rate than a woman; (3) Equal pay drives men out of the professions concerned; (4) Equal pay drives women out of the professions concerned (both these last two arguments, says Miss Normanton, occurred in the *same* speech at the 1913 Conference of the N.U.T., and she adds: "What a curious world it will be when equal pay comes, and both men and women are driven out of the professions!"); (5) Equalisation of salary would mean not the raising of women's but the lowering of men's salaries.

This last is, for practical purposes, the crux, and particular importance therefore attaches to the figures Miss Normanton gives as to the alteration of salaries of New York teachers since "certain forms of payment" were equalised: these figures are sometimes said to prove that equalisation brings down men's salaries, but if given in full they prove, as Miss Normanton shows, the precise opposite.

## Why?

Why are women paid less than men? Miss Normanton gives her answer in two words: (1) Tradition; (2) Votelessness. Particularly interesting is one of her economic arguments: Women are kept out of many professions by tradition: being voteless, they cannot force their way in: therefore they flood the market in the other professions: therefore they are cheap. So much truth is there in the "law of supply and demand"—and even so much *only so long* as organising and voting do not interrupt it! Miss Normanton reminds us of the facts proving the power of the vote in Australia and Norway as affecting women's wages and salaries, and gives many interesting figures from various countries and professions over and above what I have had space to quote. I may fitly close this article—which is intended only as an introduction of her pamphlet to as many readers as possible—by re-quoting her quotation from Mr. Lloyd George:—

"Inequality would be impossible if women had the same right to vote, and therefore to call the Government to account, that the men have."

C C

\* "Sex Differentiation in Salary." By H. F. Normanton. R.A. London. (National Federation of Women Teachers, Price 3d.)



# HAVING IT BOTH WAYS

By Hilda C. Adshead

"I always think," Mrs. Buttletub said, laying down her spectacles, "that the good Lord must have been fair scared when He'd made men."

"Auntie!" Melinda said, in a shocked tone. The shocked tone was merely perfunctory. It had become a matter of duty with Melinda to be reproachful when her Aunt said things that sounded to her youthful ears terribly unconventional. At present she was not taking much heed of her, for she was watching Willie Redway, who, in all the glory of khaki, was walking down the village street, watched by several pairs of youthful female eyes.

"Well," argued Mrs. Buttletub, "look how He hurried up and made a woman to look after Him! Wanted a woman badly, He did, that man; and they've wanted 'em ever since—if it was only for someone to put the blame on when things go wrong!"

Melinda was not listening. Her eyes and ears were all for Willie.

"Men," proceeded Mrs. Buttletub, "always wants things both ways—always did, and always will. Look at 'em, now, before this war broke out! Look at the way they talked to women that wanted to have a bit of a say in governing the country. 'What! You?' they says. 'Women? Rubbish!' they says, 'women can't have anything to do with the country,' they says. 'You stop at home, and mind your homes,' they says; 'coax your husbands,' they says; 'that's your business—not asking how the country's managed. That's for us to say, because we're men!'"

Mrs. Buttletub shook her head, and went on again, slowly:

"Then came the war, and they clean forgot all they'd said about women not being able to manage the country; they forgot they'd said that the home was the only place for women, and that the men must be 'coaxed,' and not treated like human beings and friends. They suddenly found out that women could do the men's jobs, and that it was their duty to do 'em. They wanted women doctors and nurses, and were jolly glad of 'em; and they didn't mind asking the women to help to get the men for the war! Men that's supposed to be able to stand quite alone without women—men that's supposed to be able to govern the country and do everything themselves—they found they wanted the women to help them to get the men! After telling the women to stop in their homes and keep quiet, and not ask why so many children died, or why there was one law for the man and another for the woman—they turns on the women and asks them to send the men along! Long ago, in Manchester, a recruiting sergeant complained that the girls weren't 'playing the game.' He meant they weren't urging their sweethearts to go to war! What did the men expect? All they've ever asked of girls was to look pretty and catch a man, and stop in her home with him; and now they expect a girl to turn round and be as much of a citizen and as keen on war as if she was a man! Wants it both ways! Always did, and always will! And now London's got it up on the walls, asking the girls to send their sweethearts. 'Is your best boy in khaki?' they says. Playing it pretty low down, I think!

'Tisn't so long since they was turning hosepipes on a woman for wanting to have her bit of a say."

Melinda was still concerned only with Willie. Mrs. Buttletub went on talking to herself, not caring that she had no audience.

"Ah! If they'd took more notice of the women a few years ago, instead of playing hosepipes on 'em and forcibly feeding 'em, we'd perhaps not be mourning so many of our nice lads to-day. Women's got sense. They don't go blundering up against stone walls same as a man. The world would be a different place if women had a say in it, and perhaps we'd have been saved this horrible war—this horrible war!" The old woman moved painfully in her seat, and her hands shook. "The Mothers—the Mothers all over the world," she said, in a whisper. "Oh, God! Won't you pity the Mothers?"

The room was very still, but Melinda did not

miss the old whimsical voice till Willie went on. Then she turned round again, and Mrs. Buttletub raised her head.

"Melinda!" She sat up suddenly, and her old eyes shone. "If the men don't give the women the vote now, after all they've gone through and suffered, after they've shown what they can do for England—why, then, England won't be worth fighting for!"

"Auntie!" said Melinda.

"I mean it!" said Mrs. Buttletub, fiercely. "A country's never bigger than its women. We want our men to be fine and great. Will they rise to it? I don't mean politicians," added Mrs. Buttletub, with great disgust in her tone; "I haven't no opinion of any of them—but the real men of England—will they stop being children? Will they stop asking for it both ways from women? Will they see at last that we've got to work together, or it's all of no use? Oh, will they? I—I wonder!"

## IN AMERICA

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A fine protest made by American women is recorded in the August number of *Jus Suffragii*. Thirty women went to the Naturalisation Court of New York City on June 8, and sat there in silence while some sixty foreign-born men were made into American citizens with the right to vote. The women were graduates of various Universities, being business women, doctors, lawyers, writers, and teachers. They all wore cap and gown, with a broad sash bearing the words "Votes for Women." The men, according to the *New York Globe*, were "a motley group of foreigners, many of them displaying only in parrot fashion the knowledge required by the nation for intending citizens."

#### A Silent Contrast

The same paper adds: "The women's silence was not only impressive, but seems to have been oppressive to some of the men present. 'That gets on my nerves,' remarked Fred Taylor, one of the court attendants; 'I feel as if I wanted to go out in the street and shout. I never believed in Suffrage before, but the contrast here has won me.'"

We hope Mr. Fred Taylor will shout to some effect before and on November 2, when New York State will decide whether its women are to be enfranchised or not.

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New York Suffragists celebrated July 25 as "telephone day," when every Suffragist was expected "to do her duty and telephone to at least five doubtful voters" on the subject of the coming important polls on November 2.

On November 2 the voters of the four States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts will decide whether women in those States are to be fully enfranchised or not, and vigorous campaigns are accordingly being conducted by the Suffragists among the voters. This is the kind of conversation on the New York telephones that is said by the Press Department of the Empire State Campaign Committee to have taken place on July 25:—

"Hello, Mr. Voter, votes for women! We hope that you think so, too. Would you mind saying where you stand in the question of woman suffrage?—Why, that's perfectly splendid! We are delighted to have you with us.—Now, will you tell me what you think of our chances for success at the polls, November 2?—What's that?—Certain if no unfair advantages are taken? Thank you, and good-bye!"

#### AMERICAN WAGE-EARNERS AND THE VOTE

It is often said that the organised women workers believe more in the power of their Trade Unions than in the power of the vote. This has been lately disproved by the action of the U.S.A. Women's Trade Union League at their fifth biennial Conven-

tion in New York this summer, when a Woman Suffrage Committee was appointed. The Committee has since made a report to the League, recommending that Wage Earners' Suffrage or Citizenship Leagues should be formed everywhere, and that part of their work should be to see that women workers are naturalized in order that they may use their vote as soon as it is won for women. It was also recommended that a woman Trade Unionist should speak on Woman Suffrage wherever possible to working men's organizations. It is certainly no more true in the States than in Great Britain that only the leisured women want the vote!

#### IS WOMAN'S PLACE THE HOME?

In view of the action taken by the women Trade Unionists, the following facts regarding the number of women wage-earners in the four campaign States whose fate will be decided in the autumn are interesting:—

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# GREAT DEMONSTRATION

## ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 15

Join the South-East London Procession at the Elephant and Castle at 4.0 p.m.—March under the United Suffragists' banner to Queen's Hall—Other Processions from the East End and elsewhere—Men and Women heartily invited to join—Come and demand a man's wage for women who do a man's work!

MEETING IN QUEEN'S HALL, OXFORD CIRCUS, AT 6 P.M.

In view of the rapid absorption of women into industries hitherto confined to men workers, it is of the first importance that the war shall not be made an excuse for lowering the standard of wages in the absence of the men who are fighting for our country.

**The War has sent up food prices! Shall it also send down women's wages?**

All Suffragists are of one mind as to the principle that if a woman does a man's work she should be paid a man's wage. This is not being done at the present time. On all sides women are being urged to do the men's jobs, and to carry on the work of the country in the men's absence, but in very few cases are they being paid at the same rate as the men. In munition work this is particularly obvious. To take only one instance:—At a certain firm women have been recently engaged, from the age of fourteen upwards, to make fuses at a uniform wage of 14s. a week. This is not a man's wage; and it is not a living wage.

What is the result of all this injustice? (1) The women and their dependants are injured because the wage they earn is not a living wage at any time, and certainly not in view of the rise in the cost of living. (2) The men are injured, for through this inequality of pay employers are encouraged to replace the men workers by women who are cheaper. (3) The State is injured, because the health of the children suffers; because badly paid work is not so well done as well paid work; and because no State can rest firmly upon injustice.

### Only Safeguard—The Vote!

In addition, women are being worked overtime, and under conditions which are harmful to them and therefore to the future generation. And now that every woman in the country is to be compulsorily registered, and many thousands of women are likely to be employed in Government work, it becomes doubly necessary to demand, for the sake both of the women at home and the men in the trenches, that their wages shall be equal to a man's wages for the same work, and that they shall work under proper conditions. And because Suffragists know that women's interests cannot be safeguarded without the possession of the vote, the resolutions that are to be put to the meeting in the Queen's Hall will also reaffirm this important principle.

All Suffragists should therefore walk in one or another of the processions to the Queen's Hall next Sunday afternoon, and support the resolutions. Admission will be free; and the Women's Marseillaise, the March of the Women, and other inspiring songs will be sung while the audience assembles.

### To United Suffragists

United Suffragists should especially

make an effort to take part in the demonstration. Many of their London members, most of the Committee and the organizers, are out of town; and but for the urgency of the occasion the U.S. would have adhered to their original intention of taking part only unofficially. But the banner that has been kept flying all through the war cannot be furled now that women's interests are once more threatened, and for the sake of those who cannot come to the meeting because even on Sunday they are working, for the sake of those who are being exploited by the Government, for the sake of all who are down-trodden and oppressed, we make an urgent appeal to all United Suffragists, men and women alike, and their friends, who are in and near London, to make a point of meeting under the purple, white, and orange banner of the United Suffragists.

**Next Sunday, August 15, at 4 p.m. at Sayer Street, New Kent Road, S.E. (adjoining Elephant and Castle Station, S.C. and C.R.). March 4.15, via St. George's Road, Westminster Bridge Road, Parliament Street, Haymarket, Regent Street, to QUEEN'S HALL.**

### The Speakers

Among the speakers will be Mrs. Despard (General French's sister), Mr. George Lansbury, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Bessie Ward (London Women's Section Shop Assistants' Union), Mrs. Scurr, Mrs. Drake, Miss Evelyn Sharp. Others, including M.P.'s and representatives of Labour organizations have not yet replied to the invitation to speak, as we go to press. The body of the Hall will be reserved for processionists; the gallery will be thrown open to the general public. The doors will open at 5 p.m.

### Societies Taking Part

The East London Federation of the Suffragettes has initiated and is organizing the demonstration. In addition to the United Suffragists, the following Societies are taking part: Suffragette Crusaders, Women Writers' Suffrage League, Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, Amalgamated Society of Tool-makers, Engineers, and Machinists, "Herald" League, Electrical Trade Union, the B.S.P., the N.U.R., the National Union of Gasworkers, Tottenham I.L.P., Land Values League, National Women's Council, some Trades Councils, and others; and the following well-known individuals are supporting the meeting: Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., Mr. Robert Smillie (Miners' Association), Miss Llewelyn Davies (Women's Co-operative Guild), Mrs. Barton (Women's Co-operative Guild), Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., Mr. John Scurr, Mr. R. Outhwaite, M.P., Mr. E. C. Fairchild (B.S.P.), Alderman Deyenay (Dockers' Union), Mrs. A. Davies (Hon. Sec. Central London Branch Women's Labour League), Mr. Tom Quelch, Mr. George Belt ("Herald" League), Mr. T. Richard-

son, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Mr. J. King, M.P.

### Appeal to Men and Women

This demonstration is an appeal to men and women, by men and women, on behalf of men and women. For although the resolutions deal primarily with the protection of women's labour, everybody knows that the interests of men are bound up with those of women; in the labour market as elsewhere, and that if we want to serve

the interests of those men who are now in the trenches we cannot do so better than by keeping up the standard of wages at home, keeping down the price of food, and preventing the exploitation of women by the Government or other employers.

Therefore, men as well as women are supporting next Sunday's demonstration, and men as well as women are invited to come and walk under the U.S. banner, starting from the Elephant and Castle at 4.15.

## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Brutality to a Wife

The *Westminster Gazette* (August 5) reports case of farmer summoned by his wife at Yeovil Sessions for brutal conduct. He knocked her down, broke her leg in two places, kicked her out in the yard and fell on her broken leg. He forbade her to stay in bed, made her get up and work, using two brooms as crutches, and would not allow a doctor to be sent for. He rubbed her leg with horse liniment, causing great pain.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

#### Selling Tuberculous Meat

The *British Food Journal* (June) reports case of butcher summoned before Mr. Biron at Lambeth Police Court for having pork on sale in his shop which, said the magistrate, was so obviously tubercular that it could be detected at sight.

Sentence: Fined £3 and £3 2s. costs.

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### Theft

The *West Sussex Gazette* (July 8) reports case of an electrician, posing in uniform as an officer, charged at the West Sussex Assizes with stealing jewellery and £19 7s. in money from a woman with whom he had stayed at a private hotel. There were previous convictions for forgery and larceny, and he had deserted from the army.

Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

#### Defrauding a Bank

The *Morning Advertiser* (July 5) reports case of a carpenter charged before Mr. Montagu Sharpe at the Middlesex Sessions with obtaining £10 and a cheque book from one bank, and £15 and a cheque book from another bank. There were previous convictions for fraud.

Sentence: Three-and-a-half years' penal servitude.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LAUNDRY.

Good Work and Good Wages.

THE

## BEACONSFIELD LAUNDRY,

19, BEETHOVEN ST., KILBURN.

HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY.

SEND A POST CARD FOR PRICE LIST.

No Hospitals or Hotel Contracts Taken.

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MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Assist. Dental Surgeon.

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*Holiday Catering*  
made simple

DO your Holiday Shopping in town, so avoiding all the troubles generally met with whilst away.

All the likely table requirements you can desire are procurable in London's Modern Market—Selfridge's Provision Sections, priced 'as usual' at London's lowest.

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# HAVING IT BOTH WAYS

By Hilda C. Adshead

"I always think," Mrs. Buttletub said, laying down her spectacles, "that the good Lord must have been fair scared when He'd made men."

"Auntie!" Melinda said, in a shocked tone. The shocked tone was merely perfunctory. It had become a matter of duty with Melinda to be reproachful when her Aunt said things that sounded to her youthful ears terribly unconventional. At present she was not taking much heed of her, for she was watching Willie Redway, who, in all the glory of khaki, was walking down the village street, watched by several pairs of youthful female eyes.

"Well," argued Mrs. Buttletub, "look how He hurried up and made a woman to look after Him! Wanted a woman badly, He did, that man; and they've wanted 'em ever since—if it was only for someone to put the blame on when things go wrong!"

Melinda was not listening. Her eyes and ears were all for Willie.

"Men," proceeded Mrs. Buttletub, "always wants things both ways—always did, and always will. Look at 'em, now, before this war broke out! Look at the way they talked to women that wanted to have a bit of a say in governing the country. 'What! You?' they says. 'Women? Rubbish!' they says, 'women can't have anything to do with the country,' they says. 'You stop at home, and mind your homes,' they says; 'coax your husbands,' they says; 'that's your business—not asking how the country's managed. That's for us to say, because we're men!'"

Mrs. Buttletub shook her head, and went on again, slowly:

"Then came the war, and they clean forgot all they'd said about women not being able to manage the country; they forgot they'd said that the home was the only place for women, and that the men must be 'coaxed,' and not treated like human beings and friends. They suddenly found out that women could do the men's jobs, and that it was their duty to do 'em. They wanted women doctors and nurses, and were jolly glad of 'em; and they didn't mind asking the women to help to get the men for the war! Men that's supposed to be able to stand quite alone without women—men that's supposed to be able to govern the country and do everything themselves—they found they wanted the women to help them to get the men! After telling the women to stop in their homes and keep quiet, and not ask why so many children died, or why there was one law for the man and another for the woman—they turns on the women and asks them to send the men along! Long ago, in Manchester, a recruiting sergeant complained that the girls weren't 'playing the game.' He meant they weren't urging their sweethearts to go to war! What did the men expect? All they've ever asked of girls was to look pretty and catch a man, and stop in her home with him; and now they expect a girl to turn round and be as much of a citizen and as keen on war as if she was a man! Wants it both ways! Always did, and always will! And now London's got it up on the walls, asking the girls to send their sweethearts. 'Is your best boy in khaki?' they says. Playing it pretty low down, I think!"

"Tisn't so long since they was turning hosepipes on a woman for wanting to have her bit of a say."

Melinda was still concerned only with Willie. Mrs. Buttletub went on talking to herself, not caring that she had no audience.

"Ah! If they'd took more notice of the women a few years ago, instead of playing hosepipes on 'em and forcibly feeding 'em, we'd perhaps not be mourning so many of our nice lads to-day. Women's got sense. They don't go blundering up against stone walls same as a man. The world would be a different place if women had a say in it, and perhaps we'd have been saved this horrible war—this horrible war!" The old woman moved painfully in her seat, and her hands shook. "The Mothers—the Mothers all over the world," she said, in a whisper. "Oh, God! Won't you pity the Mothers?"

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Among the speakers will be Mrs. Despard (General French's sister), Mr. George Lansbury, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Bessie Ward (London Women's Section Shop Assistants' Union), Mrs. Scurr, Mrs. Drake, Miss Evelyn Sharp. Others, including M.P.'s and representatives of Labour organizations have not yet replied to the invitation to speak, as we go to press. The body of the Hall will be reserved for processionists; the gallery will be thrown open to the general public. The doors will open at 5 p.m.

### Societies Taking Part

The East London Federation of the Suffragettes has initiated and is organizing the demonstration. In addition to the United Suffragists, the following Societies are taking part: Suffragette Crusaders, Women Writers' Suffrage League, Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, Amalgamated Society of Tool-makers, Engineers, and Machinists, "Herald" League, Electrical Trade Union, the B.S.P., the N.U.R., the National Union of Gasworkers, Tottenham I.L.P., Land Values League, National Women's Council, some Trades Councils, and others; and the following well-known individuals are supporting the meeting: Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., Mr. Robert Smillie (Miners' Association), Miss Llewelyn Davies (Women's Co-operative Guild), Mrs. Barton (Women's Co-operative Guild), Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., Mr. John Scurr, Mr. R. Outhwaite, M.P., Mr. E. C. Fairchild (B.S.P.), Alderman Devenay (Dockers' Union), Mrs. A. Davies (Hon. Sec. Central London Branch Women's Labour League), Mr. Tom Quelch, Mr. George Belt ("Herald" League), Mr. T. Richard-

son, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Mr. J. King, M.P.

### Appeal to Men and Women

This demonstration is an appeal to men and women, by men and women, on behalf of men and women. For although the resolutions deal primarily with the protection of women's labour, everybody knows that the interests of men are bound up with those of women; in the labour market as elsewhere, and that if we want to serve

the interests of those men who are now in the trenches we cannot do so better than by keeping up the standard of wages at home, keeping down the price of food, and preventing the exploitation of women by the Government or other employers.

Therefore, men as well as women are supporting next Sunday's demonstration, and men as well as women are invited to come and walk under the U.S. banner, starting from the Elephant and Castle at 4.15.

## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Brutality to a Wife

The *Westminster Gazette* (August 5) reports case of farmer summoned by his wife at Yeovil Sessions for brutal conduct. He knocked her down, broke her leg in two places, kicked her out in the yard and fell on her broken leg. He forbade her to stay in bed, made her get up and work, using two brooms as crutches, and would not allow a doctor to be sent for. He rubbed her leg with horse liniment, causing great pain.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

#### Selling Tuberculous Meat

The *British Food Journal* (June) reports case of butcher summoned before Mr. Biron at Lambeth Police Court for having pork on sale in his shop which, said the magistrate, was so obviously tubercular that it could be detected at sight.

Sentence: Fined £3 and £3 2s. costs.

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### Theft

The *West Sussex Gazette* (July 8) reports case of an electrician, posing in uniform as an officer, charged at the West Sussex Assizes with stealing jewellery and £19 7s. in money from a woman with whom he had stayed at a private hotel. There were previous convictions for forgery and larceny, and he had deserted from the army.

Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

#### Defrauding a Bank

The *Morning Advertiser* (July 5) reports case of a carpenter charged before Mr. Montagu Sharpe at the Middlesex Sessions with obtaining £10 and a cheque book from one bank, and £15 and a cheque book from another bank. There were previous convictions for fraud.

Sentence: Three-and-a-half years' penal servitude.

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### NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

**ST. MARY - AT - HILL.** — Church of Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

### SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

**THE FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION** will take part in the Demonstration at Queen's Hall, Langham Place, on Sunday, August 15, 5 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Davies.

### BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

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**BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE,** 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 27s. 6d. weekly.—Mrs. Gray, W.S.P.U.

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## GREAT JOINT DEMONSTRATION

(Organised by the East London Federation of the Suffragettes)

ON

REGISTRATION SUNDAY, AUGUST 15,

IN

Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.,

At 6 p.m.

### PROCESSIONS FROM EAST AND WEST LONDON.

(Join in when and where you can.)

#### East London Procession—

**BOW.**—Form up at Women's Hall, 400, Old Ford Road, 2.30 p.m. March 3 sharp.  
**POPLAR.**—Form up at East India Dock Gates, 2.30 p.m. March 3 sharp.  
Bow and Poplar Processions unite at Gardiner's Corner, and March via Leadenhall Street, Cornhill, Cheapside, Holborn, Oxford Street, to Queen's Hall.

**South-East London Procession.**—Form up at 3 p.m., Asylum Road, Old Kent Road. March 3.30 sharp, via Old Kent Road, New Kent Road, St. George's Road, Westminster Bridge Road, Parliament Street, Whitehall, Cockspur Street, Haymarket, Piccadilly Circus, Regent Street, to Queen's Hall.

**United Suffragists' Procession.**—Form up at Sayer Street, New Kent Road (adjoining Elephant and Castle Station, S.E. and C.R.), at 4 sharp. March at 4.15, following the same route, up St. George's Road, as South-East London Procession.

### SPEAKERS IN QUEEN'S HALL—

**MRS. DESPARD, MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST, MISS EVELYN SHARP, MR. ROBERT WILLIAMS, MR. NAYLOR, and OTHERS.**

For particulars write to EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF THE SUFFRAGETTES, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow; or, for the South East London Procession, to the SUFFRAGETTE CRUSADERS, 724, Old Kent Road, Peckham, S.E.; and to the UNITED SUFFRAGISTS, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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